

A Report from Chile

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THE MILITANT

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United Forum for Socialist Discussion Is Established

NEW YORK, May 13 — Announcement was made today of the establishment of a 40 member National Committee of American Forum — For Socialist Education. The Statement of Purpose declares that American Forum seeks to promote "study and

serious untrammelled political discussion among all elements that think of themselves as related to historic socialist and labor traditions, values and objectives . . . however deep and bitter the differences may have been."

In announcing the launching of the project, A. J. Muste, well-known pacifist, who will serve as Chairman, emphasized that persons serving on the National Committee do so as individuals and not as delegated representatives of any group. American Forum proceeds on the conviction, said Mr. Muste, that "individuals from all tendencies should be involved in the discussion, provided they commit themselves to a free exchange of views in a spirit of inquiry."

He further stated that American Forum is not a membership organization and does not propose to promote united action by various parties or groups, mergers or new organizations. It "neither promotes nor seeks to inhibit such developments" in which people may wish to engage.

The Secretary of American Forum is Sidney Lens, author and Director of Local 329, A. F. of L., Chicago, Illinois. Vice-Presidents are Kermit Eby, Professor of Economics, University of Chicago; Milton Mayer, author and lecturer, Carmel, California; John T. McManus, Managing Editor, National Guardian, New York; Bayard Rustin, one of the editors of Liberation magazine; and Mulford Sibley, of the Political Science Faculty, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

Among the 40 members of the

Forum's National Committee is Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party.

PURPOSE OF FORUM

The Forum's statement of purpose follows:

"AMERICAN FORUM is organized in order to stimulate study and serious, untrammelled discussion of the problems of socialism in the United States."

"There is a growing interest in such discussion among all elements that think of themselves as related to historic socialist and labor traditions, values and objectives—however deep and bit-

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A. J. MUSTE

New Book by Alger Hiss Hits at "Spy" Frame-Up

By C. R. Hubbard

MAY 15 — Publication of the book by Alger Hiss, In the Court of Public Opinion, the story of his trial on perjury charges to conceal "spy" activities, has evoked sympathetic and objective re-examination of the case. Today the atmosphere in which the witch hunt operates is not so permeated with fear. Justice has at least a chance of winning out.

In his book, Hiss discusses dispassionately the motives of those who sought his conviction, from Whittaker Chambers, the confessed 'Communist espionage' agent who supplied the evidence on which the conviction was based, to Vice President Nixon whose political career was advanced considerably by the role he played in getting a conviction.

Alger Hiss spent three years and eight months in the federal prison at Lewisburg, Pa. He was released in 1954. The publicity around his trial in 1950 served to develop the anti-Communist hysteria that enabled the FBI one year later to get a conviction against Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell, framed on charges of conspiracy to steal atomic "secrets."

That hysteria also enabled the Supreme Court of the United States in lynch fashion to meet in extraordinary session in order to refuse to review the most sensational spy case in U.S. history involving a death sentence. The Rosenbergs were consequently rushed to the electric chair and Sobell was shoved into a prison cell for a thirty-year term.

The U.S. Supreme Court twice refused to review the Hiss case. As in the Rosenberg case, the high court washed its hands of responsibility for the dirty work of the witch hunt. It permitted the convictions to stand on the shabbiest evidence and most questionable legal foundation. Thus the Supreme Court protected its "dignity."

An earlier work, the Strange Case of Alger Hiss, by the eminent legal authority of England, the Lord Earl Jowitt, sharply attacked the conduct of the Hiss trials. The inquisitorial techniques of the prosecution were condemned in no uncertain

terms by this former Lord Chancellor of England. The new book, by Hiss himself, will add a great deal to the growing body of material exposing the witch-hunt methods. (See also the review of the book, The Honorable Mr. Nixon and the Alger Hiss Case by William A. Reuben on page four of this issue.)

An objective examination of the Hiss case in the calmer atmosphere of today must inevitably lead to a new look at the Rosenberg-Sobell trial. There are too many parallel factors in these two trials. And finally, beyond question, if Hiss did not get a fair trial, it goes without saying that the same hysteria prevented a fair trial for the Rosenbergs and Sobell.

Huge Motorcade From N.Y. Sparks Prayer Pilgrimage

MAY 17 — As we go to press, tens of thousands of champions of civil rights are meeting in Washington in front of the Lincoln Memorial in a mass protest rally against Jim Crow.

A five-hundred car motorcade left the Polo Grounds in New York at 7 A.M. for the Washington demonstration. They were to travel in a single procession, 20 yards apart, lights on, at 50 miles an hour, with a police escort from Jersey City to Washington.

Two special trains of 20 coaches each left New York early in the morning for the Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington.

Ricar Moore, Transportation Director for the Pilgrimage in the New York area, told a Militant reporter that he dispatched 98 buses early today.

At 6 A.M. a crowd of students from the High School of Performing Arts grouped in front of the headquarters of District 65 of Wholesale, Retail and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO to leave on the union-chartered buses. District 65 sent out four such buses. In addition, it reserved at least eight coaches on the Freedom trains.

In Brooklyn, the NAACP branch sent out several buses filled with its members and organized a car pool. In addition, Negro churches throughout the city filed special buses and organized car pools.

The sponsors of the Prayer Pilgrimage called for 50,000 to attend the Washington protest action. Reports from cities across the country indicate that this number was met with many thousands to spare. About 9,000 left the South to attend the demonstration, including 1,000 from Montgomery, and 1,500 from Birmingham.

When the mass meeting began at noon, three years exactly — to the hour — had elapsed since the U.S. Supreme Court declared school segregation to be unconstitutional. The protest demonstration was held to protest continued violation of the Negro people's constitutional rights.

(See next week's issue for stories and evaluation of the Prayer Pilgrimage. Staff-writers George Lavan, Fred Halstead, and Henry Gitano are covering the event for the Militant.)

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"The British CP's Road to Socialism"

By Peter Fryer

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Prelude to Downfall of Rojas



Ouster of the bloody dictator Rojas in Colombia was not accomplished overnight. This dramatic photograph was taken in November 1954 as police fired into a student demonstration in Bogota. The demonstrators had just returned from decorating the grave of a student killed in a previous demonstration.

Appeals Court Turns Down Sobell Motions for Hearing

By Myra Tanner Weiss

MAY 15 — The long-awaited decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals in the case of Morton Sobell was finally announced yesterday. The panel of three judges denied two motions for a new trial for the Alcatraz prisoner.

Helen Sobell Answers Court

"The decision of the Circuit Court of Appeals refusing to grant a hearing to my husband, Morton Sobell, is an immoral and an illegal one. We will carry our urgent request for a hearing to the Supreme Court of the United States knowing that Morton's innocence and his steadfastness have already won the respect and support of many eminent Americans. They have asked with us for a new trial. We do not pretend that this denial of due process is easy for us to endure. However, seven years of imprisonment have not crushed Morton's will to live or his belief in his vindication — nor will this. We can and must have the justice to which we are entitled. We will continue to fight for it. With the continued support of those old and new friends who know what this case means to America, we will win Morton's freedom. We have never needed your help more than we do at this moment. Nor has there ever been a time when your action on this matter was more important for our country."

From a legal point of view the decision is a shocking mockery of justice. It will be appealed immediately to the Supreme Court, according to the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. The panel of judges, in addition to Sterry R. Waterman and Clarence G. Galston included the notorious Harold R. Medina who presided with open prejudice over the Smith Act trial of Communist leaders. The three judges ruled that there was no evidence that had not "already been rejected."

Morton Sobell, according to these judges is not entitled to a new hearing despite the fact that the Sobell attorney submitted proof that the prosecution had intentionally lied in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial of 1951 when it claimed Sobell had been expelled or deported by the Mexican Government.

It is true that these charges were made by the defense immediately after the sentencing of the Rosenbergs and Sobell. But at that time the defense had nothing to substantiate its charges except the word of the defendant. Proof of perjured testimony by the government and false charges by the prosecution has since been obtained.

But politically the decision of

(Continued on page 4)

Deadly Results Of Nevada Atomic Tests Exposed

Gov't Insists on New Explosions Despite Great Risk to Population

By Herman Chalka

MAY 15 — Operation Plumbob — the most extensive series of atomic explosions yet attempted in this country — is scheduled to begin tomorrow morning in central Nevada. Government announcement of plans to go ahead with the tests comes on the heels of a slashing expose in the May 16 Reporter magazine which presents long-suppressed facts about the deadly results of the five previous tests in that area.

More than 14 atomic weapons will be exploded in the present tests this spring and summer. In a statement today, the Atomic Energy Commission insisted that the tests will involve less radioactive fallout than previous ones and that the largest intensity of fallout recorded previously was less than would be received in a chest X-ray. The statement flies in the face of the blood-curdling facts documented in The Reporter by writer Paul Jacobs.

WHY DID BUTCH DIE?

The facts massed by Jacobs make clear why the people of Nevada "regard the Atomic Energy Commission as an army of occupation."

At a ranch near Warm Springs, Nevada, a group of adults and children will await the new mushroom clouds with particular dread, Jacobs writes. During the tests in the spring of 1955, seven-year-old Martin Bardoli had watched the clouds with them. Last year he died of leukemia in a Reno hospital.

His mother says, "I think my Butch died because of the tests." Doctors who attended him agree that this could have been the case. The AEC insists not, claiming that it would take a larger dose of radiation than the boy was exposed to. But, Jacobs demonstrates, "the fact is that the AEC does not know exactly how much radiation exposure 'Butch' Bardoli received as a result of radioactive fallout from its weapons-testing program."

Mrs. Dan Sheahan is now in Las Vegas being treated for cancer. She and her husband had operated a mine near the test site. The AEC, of course, denies responsibility, but has admitted a heavier radiation exposure at the mine than at almost any other site outside the test area.

Cattle ranchers in Cedar City, Utah, have unsuccessfully

brought suit against the government. They insist that thousands of sheep grazing near the 1953 test site have died as the result of fallout. The judge who ruled against them did concede they had received inadequate test warnings from the AEC.

In the hills outside of the town of St. George, Utah, radioactive moss is still growing. According to The Reporter, the town's population has been exposed for 16 days to atmospheric contamination that at one point was 1,260 times greater than the amount estimated as "safe" for radiation workers.

Salt Lake City, Utah, has not

escaped the fallout. Assailing the AEC for covering up information, one prominent nuclear physicist said that when he was working on atomic research at Brookhaven "any building as contaminated by radiation as Salt Lake City was after one explosion would have been evacuated immediately."

After the 1952 test "significant activity" was found in Downey, an industrial area near Los Angeles and in a lettuce field near Fresno. This fact was reported, Jacobs says, not by the AEC, but by a West-Coast NBC news program. He also reports that after

(Continued on page 4)



ANDREW WADE IV, his wife Charlotte, and their two daughters are now preparing to move into their new home which had been bombed by racists in 1954.

Setback for Ky. Racists; Wade Wins Title to Home

MAY 15 — After three years of struggle against the Jim Crow advocates of Louisville, Ky., and their witch-hunting tactics, Andrew Wade IV has won title to his home. Repair of the house damaged in 1954 by racist bombers will proceed immediately.

The house was dynamited, but Wade continued his fight against segregation. His friends including the white couple, Carl and Anne Braden in whose name the house was originally purchased, were arrested on "conspiracy" charges and imprisoned. But Wade and his friends fought on. Finally, the bank holding the mortgage on the house foreclosed on a technicality, sure that Wade would be unable to meet the sum.

This last attempt to save Jim Crow was foiled when a Chicago couple, Mr. and Mrs. David Simonson, learned of the new threat and advanced the Wade family a loan of \$12,325 to pay off the mortgage, interest and court costs. The Simonson couple first heard of the persecution of the Wade family in Paris, France. Their sympathy for the fight of the Kentucky opponents of Jim Crow motivated their intervention. The racists were deprived of the long-sought victory.

But the persecution of the opponents of Jim Crow in Kentucky has not stopped. Henry Rhine who defended the Wade family was hauled into court and questioned about "Communist associations." He refused to answer under the protection of the Bill of Rights. Rhine won his initial court battle, but the prosecution, represented by attorney A. Scott Hamilton, appealed the judge's decision upholding Rhine's constitutional rights. More court action and more court costs lie ahead for Henry Rhine.

His persecutor, Hamilton, ran for Congress last November on the States' Rights ticket. One of his running mates was Chairman of the Kentucky White Citizens Council. His racism and political ambitions are clear. Rhine's defense needs support. Even small contributions will be gratefully received. Rhine is the Militant. Mail to: Henry Rhine Defense, P.O. Box 1747 Louisville 1, Ky.

(Continued from page 2)

Meaning of Khrushchev's Decentralization Plan

By George Lavan

A gigantic reorganization of the bureaucratic machinery for running the industry of the Soviet Union is now taking place. All but a few of the 30 highly centralized economic ministries, which under Stalin ran the whole economy from Moscow, have been abolished. In their stead there have been created 92 regional economic areas within which economic councils will have charge of production.

The importance of the change may be gauged from the gargantuan publicity campaign that the Kremlin rulers have put on to arouse enthusiasm among the Soviet peoples for this decentralization. Since March 30, when Khrushchev announced the project, until May 7, when the Supreme Soviet convened to accept it, over half a million meetings were held to plug the coming change. It is claimed officially that 40 million people attended these meetings and that over 2 million took the floor. Discussion of details was encouraged in a move to popularize the new setup and give people the illusion

that they were helping to shape it. Over 68,000 letters and articles on the subject appeared in the Soviet press in the five week period and a Moscow correspondent of the New York Times reports that the newspapers during the final week devoted approximately 80% of their space to the economic shakeup.

ECONOMY BOUNDS AHEAD

The point of departure for an analysis of the Khrushchev plan is that the Soviet economy is growing by leaps and bounds at a sustained yearly rate of expansion. The intrinsic superiority of a planned, nationalized economy over the private, uniplanned privately owned economy of capitalism is so great that the Soviet Union, before the revolution the most underdeveloped country of Europe, is today industrially second only to the United States. This tremendous economic growth was accomplished despite the enormous destruction of Soviet industry during World War II and despite the terrible mismanagement and bureaucratic pilaging of the economy by the Stalinist bureau-

cracy, which for every two forward steps made by the economy dragged it back one.

It is the very success of the economy which has brought it to a new stage where the old Stalinist methods can no longer be tolerated. They now constitute a straitjacket which hamper further growth ever more seriously and which therefore must be burst. Parallel with this economic development, and a result of it, is the ever-bolder demand of the Soviet working class, so long kept on starvation rations by Stalin, for its due share of the wealth it produces. In addition the USSR out of self-preservation has to keep up in the costly atomic armaments race in which U.S. capitalism sets the pace. Finally there are demands from China for aid in industrializing while East Europe can no longer be milked as before but must even be given economic concessions or outright grants, as in Hungary for reconstruction.

There is no question but that the piling up of the conjunctural expenses such as those of the H-bomb and missile race, China and East Europe, have sharpened the crisis of the Soviet economy. The recent deferment — a virtual repudiation — of government bonds, which Soviet workers long had been forced to buy, indicated that the Kremlin was in financial difficulties. Another indication is the inflation revealed by press denunciations of speculators who buy up consumers goods released for sale in one area for marked-up sale in areas where they are not available. But the crisis has its roots not in the economy but in the bureaucratic management of the economy.

From 1923 till 1929 Stalin and the bureaucracy fought the proposals for planned industrialization advanced by the Trotskyist Left Opposition. A year after the Trotskyists' expulsion and imprisonment, economic disaster forced Stalin to adopt the industrialization he had so long ridiculed. The industrialization was carried out in obtuse, blundering fashion at a cost many times greater than necessary. However, it was carried out. The merit of planned economy plus the sacrifices made by the working people lifted backward Russia by its bootstraps to the status of a mod-

ern industrial nation. With it was lifted the privileged bureaucracy which had made no sacrifices but had profited and multiplied by the millions.

As Stalin had expropriated the workers politically, so he expropriated them from all economic control. His setup was the absolute centralization of all control in ministries for the various branches of industry. This he had the fearful heads of all industry always within arms reach. Political terror was used to spur production. Each ministry built its own bureaucratic kingdom without regard to the interests of the others or the economy as a whole, for the bigger the bureaucratic kingdom the more power and privileges for the small Stalin heading it.

BUREAUCRATIC JUNGLE

The waste and inefficiency that resulted were not caused by red tape and bungling alone but by the predominance of narrow bureaucratic interests over the true economic interests of the country. Reliable economic cost accounting became impossible because statistics were faked and

arbitrary values and prices fixed in accordance with the interests of the most powerful blocs in the bureaucracy. Fulfilling or overfulfilling the plan on paper became an art that paid off better than honest, efficient production that fell short through no fault of its own. Shoddiness of products became the rule. Buckpassing of the most minor decisions all the way from the point of production up to the remote ministry in Moscow resulted from fear of making a decision displeasing to a higher echelon. The attempt of the distant ministries to make the most detailed decisions for the 200,000 plants and 100,000 construction sites in the USSR resulted in interminable delays and fantastically inappropriate rulings.

Elimination of the terrible waste, blundering and duplication of work that exists would greatly increase Soviet production without any increased capital outlay or manpower. Khrushchev's decentralization proposals hope to achieve this at least in part. Administration by 92 re-

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Is the Daily Worker Appeasing Foster?

By Harry Ring

It is now three months since the national convention of the Communist Party. At that convention the delegates voted to put an end to the past practice whereby the CP "viewed uncritically developments in the Soviet Union" and "tended to accept uncritically many views of Marxists in other countries." The convention action was a rejection of the line of the Foster wing of the party leadership which has pushed doggedly to choke off any serious discussion or criticism of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The stand taken by the convention was favored by that section of the Party leadership headed by John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker. Yet in the period since the convention the pages of that paper have been marked by an increasing tendency toward appeasement of the Fosterites. Here is a recent case in point:

On May 13, in printing excerpts from Khrushchev's May 10 interview with the New York Times, the Daily Worker ran the following of his remarks: "Stalin had big deficiencies and drawbacks. . . However, he was a devoted revolutionary and a devoted follower of Marx and Lenin. He made mistakes, but he also made many contributions to our party, to our working people and our country. The people will always regard him as a great man."

Khrushchev's latest tribute to the tyrant who wiped out workers' democracy in the Soviet Union was reprinted by the DW without a word of comment. The incident is not an isolated one. In its efforts to preserve an uneasy "co-existence" with the Fosterites, the DW editors have avoided carrying out the convention mandate for independent political analysis and have failed to keep the pledges that it made after the 20th Congress to speak out against crimes, "no matter where committed."

FOSTER IN MINORITY

It cannot be argued that the editors have been blocked by a Fosterite majority. Foster was in a minority at the national convention and in the national committee elected after it. This fact is underscored by a report by Harry Schwartz in the N. Y. Times May 11. He reports that in the voting in the national committee for a 17-man national executive committee, Foster failed of election and was placed on the committee only after a motion was adopted to expand it to 20 members. At the same meeting, a motion to oust Gates

as editor of the paper, the second of its kind, was also defeated, according to Schwartz.

Along with the necessary editorial control, the DW editors certainly have no lack of major developments which require serious evaluation and blunt criticism.

There has, for example, been a growing demand among radicals that the Soviet government publicly detail its stand on the Jewish question. The DW has failed to join in this entirely legitimate demand.

The recent convention also voted for the right to criticize other Communist parties when necessary. Recently, conventions have been held by the Italian, British and Canadian parties. In each case efforts to chart a new course were beaten down and it was made crystal clear that, regardless of cost, the leaders of these parties intend to continue functioning as in the past—that is as unquestioning defenders of the Kremlin bureaucracy. The international process of re-Stalinization has also escaped the editorial notice of the DW.

SILENCE ON HUNGARY

The most glaring instance of the DW's failure to carry through on initial efforts to formulate policy independently is seen in the Hungarian events. At the time, of posthumous "rehabilitation" of Rakj in Hungary, the DW declared its principled opposition to capital punishment everywhere. Yet it remains silent as the Kadar regime dooms hundreds to death.

Little moral credit accrued to the paper when it reported the death of one-time CP leader John Steuben without any mention that he had broken with the party on the eve of the convention with an anguished cry of protest against the Kadar decree establishing the death penalty for strikers.

The shameful silence on the crimes being committed against the Hungarian workers flows logically from the unprincipled convention compromise with Foster to "neither condemn nor condone" the Kremlin intervention in that country. And that capitulation to Foster derived from the totally inadequate basis of the DW's original critical stand on Hungary. To take and to maintain a resolute stand of opposition to the Kremlin intervention demanded a second step. That was to take a stand for the Hungarian working class in its political revolution against the bureaucrats, native and Russian.

But why didn't the Gatesites leave give political support to the Hungarian workers in their struggle for socialist democracy and national independence? A serious examination of the nature and role of the Soviet bureaucracy certainly leads to such a position. But it is precisely such an examination that the DW editors have failed to make.

ACCEPT WHEEZE

The efforts of the Gates group to break with the methods of Stalinism have been circumscribed by their acceptance of Khrushchev's utterly false explanation of the rise of Stalinism—an explanation that boils down to a "great leader" developing some "negative features" in his old age.

Bureaucratic self-interest prevented Khrushchev from making the simple but correct Marxist explanation that Stalin and his associates committed their odious crimes in the process of defending the material privileges of a huge, entrenched bureaucracy. Today the masses of the Soviet Union and East Europe are determined to eliminate that bureaucracy.

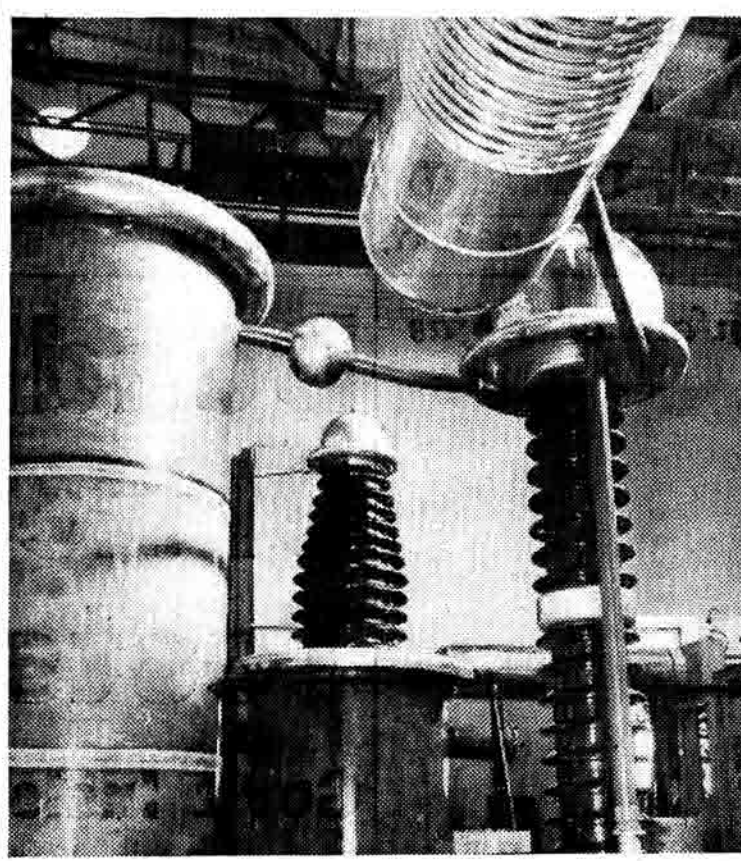
We received \$50 from an old-time friend who pledged this amount at the start of the campaign and thereby increased the "General" category to \$155.60. We are indeed grateful to this militant trade unionist, who has continued through the years to help party campaigns in spite of the sacrifices entailed.

THANKS EXTENDED

All in all, it has been a very successful campaign, with a total of \$19,711.80, or \$455.80 more than was pledged, paid in to the fund.

With this encouragement from its members and friends, the SWP can embark with confidence on the many new avenues now opening up for expansion, both in the organizational and publication fields. The Socialist Workers Party extends its deepest thanks to the members and friends who demonstrated their political solidarity and confidence in the party by making the Party-Building Fund 102% successful.

Part of a Soviet Atom Smasher



This atomic device, one of the world's largest, is housed in Moscow's Joint Nuclear Research Institute. Its completion reflected the huge industrial expansion which has compelled the Kremlin to attempt to devise new and more effective over-all production plans.

... Soviet Plan

(Continued from page 1)

gions, it is hoped, will result in the use of all economic facilities without duplication within the regions.

In the process of reorganization of Soviet industry the struggle within the bureaucracy, we can be sure, also plays its role. That Khrushchev is able to do the reorganizing means that he is still the preeminent figure in the Kremlin oligarchy. He will try by staffing the new regional councils with members of his bureaucratic entourage to increase his power. Nevertheless, that eight ministries—mainly heavy industry—were at the last minute excepted from the reorganization means that Khrushchev's wing of the bureaucracy is not completely dominant.

TROTSKY'S ANALYSIS

In his book, *The Revolution Betrayed*, written in 1937, Leon Trotsky anticipated the present situation confronting Soviet economy. He wrote:

"The progressive role of the Soviet bureaucracy coincides with the period devoted to introducing into the Soviet Union the most important elements of capitalist technique. The rough work of borrowing, imitating, transplanting and grafting, was accomplished on the bases laid down by the revolution. There was, thus far, no question of any new word in the sphere of technique, science or art. It is possible to build gigantic factories according to a ready-made Western pattern by bureaucratic com-

mand—although, to be sure, at triple the normal cost. But the farther you go, the more the economy runs into the problem of quality, which slips out of the hands of a bureaucracy like a shadow. The Soviet products are as though branded with the gray label of indifference. Under a nationalized economy, 'quality' demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative—conditions incompatible with a totalitarian regime of fear, lies and flattery. . . . Soviet democracy . . . has become a life-and-death need of the country." (our emphasis.)

One thing is certain—there is no provision in Khrushchev's plan for workers' participation to any degree in the running of the factories or in the drawing up of the plan which determines what proportion of the national product will go for capital investment, consumers' goods, wages and the swollen incomes of the bureaucracy. There is no "self-reform" whatever by the bureaucracy in this direction.

After the big build-up given the Khrushchev plan, the Soviet masses—already highly critical of the bureaucratic rule and fully conscious of the bureaucrats' systematic mismanagement of the economy—will be watching for improvements. When it becomes clear that Khrushchev's plan is just another bureaucratic gimmick that solves nothing essential, the Soviet working class will increase its pressure for workers' democratic rule.

reocracy The Hungarian uprising was a major step on that road.

This historic development is at the same time of key importance for those in the American CP who are resisting a return to the past. A Marxist understanding of the Kremlin bureaucratic caste and of the need to support the Soviet-orbit workers in their struggle against the bureaucracy is essential for effective opposition to Stalinism in America.

HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY

by Peter Fryer

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YOUNGSTOWN	300.00	300.00	100
St. Louis	80.00	50.00	64
General	—	155.60	—
Total through May 1	\$19,256.00	\$19,711.80	102

A Proposal to YSL on Building The Socialist Youth Movement

(The following is a letter from the American Youth for Socialism to the Young Socialist League. The AYSL is an organization of young workers and students initiated a few months ago in New York City by a group of young members of the Socialist Workers Party. Copies of the letter were sent to the Militant and the Young Socialist Challenge. — Ed.)

Dear Comrades,

At a recent debate in New York City with the Young Socialist League we made the following proposals: (1) That the YSL maintain itself as an independent, unaffiliated youth organization programmatically based on a socialist opposition to capitalism and Stalinism. (2) That it invite all radical youth to join the YSL as the first step in a regroupment of revolutionary socialist youth. (3) That under these conditions the members of the American Youth for Socialism would be prepared to join the YSL and recognize it as the nucleus of a united socialist youth movement in America.

To date we have received no reply to this proposal. We note, also, that the report of the debate which appeared in *The Young Socialist Challenge* did not mention the proposal we set forth at that time.

We have been following with great interest the discussion in your ranks on the perspectives for socialist youth in America as reported in the publicly distributed *Young Socialist Review* and the *Bulletin of the Left-Wing Caucus*.

The majority of the National Executive Committee of the YSL is proposing that the members join the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and constitute its youth affiliate. It proposes to do this on the basis of the present political program of the SP-SDF.

The Left-Wing Caucus of the YSL, on the other hand, in opposing this course states, "We consider that the basic question posed by the proposal for unity with the SP-SDF is: either to build the YSL on a socialist political basis or to liquidate the YSL in its present form on the basis of the anti-socialist policies of the SP-SDF."

We believe that the YSL now has before it a unique opportunity and responsibility. With the dissolution of the Labor Youth League, the YSL today constitutes the only national youth organization putting forward the ideas of socialism. As an independent organization, with a militant tradition, it has the potential of attracting a significant number of radical youth from many quarters.

SP RECORD

This perspective would be excluded for a youth organization affiliated with and dominated by the SP-SDF. The Socialist Party has a 40-year record of incompatibility with any youth movement which even begins to display signs of militancy. The statements and actions of the present leadership of the SP-SDF demonstrates that the 40-year record is not about to be broken. The experience is extensive

and conclusive. Social-democratic politics inevitably comes into opposition to the militant aspirations of radical youth. Social-democracy expresses the interests of the most conservative and bureaucratized layers of the labor movement. It must periodically either tame or drive out those youth who wish to build on the best traditions of the revolutionary workers' movement.

EX-LYGLERS ARE KEY

We believe that the most pressing task of young revolutionary socialists today is to engage the thousands of former members of the Labor Youth League who are recoiling from Stalinism, in fruitful political discussion and collaboration looking forward to the establishment of a unified socialist youth movement.

Is it not obvious that affiliation to the SP-SDF would make impossible an effective approach to the former members of the LYL? How can radical youth who are breaking with the bureaucratic monstrosity of Stalinism be attracted to a clique of State-Department "socialists" who display contempt for elementary democracy and who prohibit free discussion among socialists?

Is it not obvious that the independent perspective which we propose offers the best possibility for the construction of a much larger and more effective socialist youth movement than anything that now exists, and would greatly facilitate our common task of

spreading socialist ideas among young workers and students?

In our opinion the position put forward by the YSL Left-Wing Caucus provides the basis for beginning the long and necessary work of constructing a united revolutionary youth movement in this country.

The AYSL proposes that we begin the process of youth regroupment by the affiliation of the young members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party to the YSL. This would immediately establish the YSL on a considerably larger basis than at any time in its history.

There are important political differences among us. However we wish to emphasize our conviction that these differences can be discussed in a fraternal fashion within the confines of an organization that stands on a revolutionary socialist opposition to capitalism and opposes both Stalinism and social-democracy.

We ask you to seriously consider our proposals. We suggest the fullest discussion of them, not only internally within the YSL, but jointly with the AYSL membership and the young members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party in the various localities throughout the country.

We also suggest that during such a period of discussion we examine to the fullest extent all possibilities for joint activities and fruitful collaboration.

Fraternalty,
Bert Deck, Chairman
American Youth for Socialism

The British CP's "Road to Socialism"

By Peter Fryer

LONDON — The *Bevanite* weekly *Tribune* played an instructive little trick on its readers last week. It gave four quotations and asked readers to guess where they came from. Quotation Number One, from a speech opposing on behalf of the National Executive a resolution that the land should be nationalized: "The political implications of putting forward such a policy are very complex. Nationalizing agricultural land would be a very different proposition from nationalizing Imperial Chemical Industries or the Austin motor works." Quotation

Number Two from an Executive speech opposing a demand that industry be nationalized without compensation: "A policy of absolute no compensation would alarm those we are seeking to neutralize, would create the maximum opposition, and make most difficult a peaceful transition. In some cases a headlong assault on privilege may be inescapable. In others the indirect

approach may be best." Quotation Number Three from an Executive speech opposing a demand for the control of industry by boards elected by the workers, said they opposed the amendment "not because of lack of confidence in the workers, but because it was a practical matter of how industry should be run." And Quotation Number Four, seconding an official resolution to retain compensation, said: "We should reaffirm that the British people should have a sufficient conventional army to defend its legitimate interests."

WHO SAID THAT?

Who made these Right-wing statements? Hugh Gaitkell, leader of Britain's Labor Party? Herbert Morrison, one of its elder statesmen? Sam Watson, one of the farthest Right of trade union leaders?

Printed upside down were the answers: in each case the spokesman was a prominent member of the British Communist Party addressing the recent Special Na-

tional Congress. Number One came from a speech by Arthur Jordan, CP official of the agricultural workers' union; Number Two was said by J. R. Campbell, editor of the *London Daily Worker*; Number Three, by Frank Haxell, one of the Stalinist bosses of the Electrical Trades Union and Number Four by a leading member of the Young Communist League.

Now this was instructive because the great claim of the British CP leaders is that whatsoever goes on in Eastern Europe, or anywhere else in the world for that matter, our party fights for the class interests of the British workers, our party is the most militant, left, revolutionary, dynamic organization you could desire. . . .

It is perfectly true that Communist shop stewards have an excellent record of struggle on behalf of their workmates in the factories. But the higher up the ladder of CP officialdom you go, the more the claims about militancy become exposed as a myth and legend. In their own way the CP leaders are always ready to come to an accommodation with the other bureaucrats in the trade union movement—wherever it suits their interests.

RECORD ON STRIKES

This has been shown in a number of recent strike struggles. The outstanding example was the strike at Norton Motors, Birmingham. The workers there were on strike for 29 weeks over the sacking of a number of their workmates, including members of the shop stewards' committee. Instead of giving this struggle their backing the CP members on the local district committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union resisted every attempt to spread the strike.

And when the workers at Standards, Coventry, came out solidly against redundancy dismissals (layoffs)—the first in a series of such strikes—the Stalinist union leaders made a bloc with the Right-wing union bosses to get the workers back to work so that "negotiations" could take place—and the *Daily Worker* hailed this as a victory!

An awareness of this sort of sell-out, matching the sell-out by the Stalinist bureaucracy in countries where they are in power, is beginning to dawn on many resolute CP militants in Britain. Many are looking with a newly critical eye at the Party's long-term program, *The British Road to Socialism*, a third version of which was endorsed by the recent Congress.

It is an open secret in the party that parts of the first version, extolling the Parliamentary road to socialism and retaining a "fraternal association" between a Socialist Britain and the Colonies, were inserted by the hand of J. V. Stalin himself. (I had this from a British CP Political Committee member years ago, and it has never been denied.) Version Number Two made slight changes to bring the document up to date: Version Number Three makes no substantial alteration either. Not for nothing did one Con-

gress delegate declare with pride that a Labor Party member reading *The British Road* had said to him: "Why, this isn't a Communist program, it's our program!" This is hardly surprising. The CP leaders found a new label for their opponents at the Congress: they called them "revisionists." But if ever a supposedly Marxist program was thoroughly revisionist, this is it.

Much was made at the Congress of a debate between R. Palme Dutt and Emile Burns on the "fraternal association" issue. But instead of placing the unconditional right to self-determination and independence of all British colonies squarely in the centre of that section of the program, the opponents of the "fraternal association" formula put forward the hair-splitting phrase "fraternal relations."

But the nub of *The British Road's* revisionism is its continued insistence that Parliament can be "transformed" into an instrument for the achievement of Socialism. This utter neglect of experiences in a score of countries—Hungary the latest, though for the Stalinists, embarrassing example—of the way the workers throw up their own organs of struggle and of power, shows how far King Street has sunk from Leninist confidence in the masses of the people and in their initiative.

Abandonment of Marxism-Leninism; distrust of the workers' own initiative; betrayal of the workers' struggles; a policy on a hundred and one short-term and long-term questions that is indistinguishable from Gaitkell-Morrison temporizing: all this adds up to a picture very different from that of the kind of class party, dealing hammer-blows at the employers and their government, that the British CP militants want.

New York Debate

WHAT ROAD TO SOCIALIST REGROUPMENT?

MAX SHACHTMAN
Ind. Socialist League

MURRY WEISS
Socialist Workers Party

Chairman:
CLIFFORD T. McAVOY
Committee for Socialist Unity

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Include Right-Wingers and CP In New Indonesia Government

By Vincent Copeland

On April 28 a "compromise" was announced between the extreme nationalists of Indonesia under President Sukarno and the conservative nationalists (blocked with the army officers) under Vice-President Mohammad Hatta.

The compromise consists of giving greater autonomy to some of the outlying islands and at the same time creating a more representative "national council" which will include both right-wing nationalists and Indonesian Communist Party members.

This compromise can be destroyed by new military outbreaks in the outer islands and in the heart of the republic itself due to the fact that Sukarno is leading Indonesia into an economic and political dead end.

The program of Sukarno and the radical nationalists is to attempt to unite Indonesia into a strong centralized federation of islands and to develop it into a modern nation. This is only possible through intense industrialization. Since three-fourths of the population of the 3,000-island republic reside on just one island (Java), and since that island has a food deficiency, it follows that such a program of industrialization means that the other islands must feed Java while Java supplies them with industrial products. But this program runs counter to certain class interests.

The army officer caste in the outer islands, representing wealthier farmers, economically tied to foreign capital, have been leading rebellions against

the central authority in Java. They have played on the prejudice and fears of the peasant poor in these areas and oppose the Java power in the name of religion and the "war against communism." But they really oppose modernization and industrialization—even on a capitalist basis.

CP ROLE

Actually, it is not possible to modernize the economy of Indonesia without a social revolution that would end capitalism and its ties with world imperialism and introduce a planned economy. This does not mean that the entrance of the "Communists" into the Sukarno government will bring such a revolutionary change. On the contrary. The CP members in the government will, according to all indications, provide a guarantee against a social revolution. That is how Sukarno views them and he is going not only by his direct knowledge of the Indonesian CP but by all international experience.

It is interesting that the U.S. press, which welcomed Sukarno so enthusiastically a few months ago, is comparatively "soft" on him for his invitation to the CP to enter his government. The capitalist press commentators call Sukarno "naive" and deplore the line he is taking but it is clear that they are aware of his attempt to save capitalism through these maneuvers.

Sukarno went to China after his visit to the U.S. When he returned to Indonesia, he was extravagant in his praise for the new China and spoke of plans for industrialization along the same lines. It was then that he

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The Socialist Discussion Forum

The organization of the American Socialist Forum (see story on page one) will be greeted with enthusiasm by those who are working for a reinvigorated socialist movement in the United States. The inclusiveness of the Forum, as represented by the 40 individuals who make up its national committee, shows that there is now a widespread recognition of the vital need for a discussion of the program and theory of the socialist movement.

The launching of the Forum was hardly greeted with enthusiasm by the New York Times. But in its own way the Times did recognize the significance of the development. It had a three-day coverage of the story, starting with an article by Harry Schwartz, one of the Times' top analysts, and ending with a May 15 editorial.

The Times editors offer the usual hackneyed explanation as to why "the socialist movement in this country . . . is now at a low ebb." "Marx was completely wrong about capitalism's future," the editors tell us. "More than a decade and a half of essentially full employment and high production have confounded the prophets of 'inevitable capitalist depression.'" Therefore, the Times is not worried about a few "hard core" socialists who go on believing what "life has shown" to be false. As a matter of fact, the editors generously decline to "quarrel with the right of socialists to discuss their ideas."

Having disposed of socialism in this way, the Times editors hurry on to offer some gratuitous advice on how socialists should conduct their discussion and who shall participate. They do not pause to

reflect on the \$40 to \$50 billion yearly expenditure for World War III preparations, which keeps the sick economic system of capitalism from collapsing in the U.S. Not a word of how, in the last four decades, the capitalist system has plunged the world into two unbelievably devastating world wars, innumerable "limited" wars, a great depression that rocked the system to its foundations, a world-wide revolutionary upsurge against capitalism, the hideous scourge of fascism, and the appalling fear that grips everyone — the fear that a slow fuse is burning towards an explosion of nuclear horror that will reduce the world and the U.S. — including its "prosperous" economy — to radioactive ruins.

The advice the Times gives to "genuine" socialists is to exclude the members of the Communist Party from its discussions. The CP is only the largest segment of the American radical movement. It happens also that the whole discussion started because of the great crisis that opened in the Communist parties following the downfall of the Stalin cult and the revolutionary uprisings in Poland and Hungary. Thousands of radical workers are seeking a way out of the blind alley of Stalinism towards revolutionary socialism. Who will help them find their way? The New York Times?

To exclude the CP from the discussion would be to kill the discussion by robbing it of one of its main participants. That would be just fine for the New York Times. But then, who ever believed that they were interested in a healthy discussion among socialists in the first place?

New Troubles for Wall Street

Since 1935 when the U.S. Marines evacuated Haiti, the U.S. capitalist government has maintained its political control of most of Latin America through support of the area's most reactionary politicians and dictators. These puppets, in return for military aid and bribes, allow U.S. firms to remove their countries' natural resources and exploit the cheap labor of their underfed populations. In recent months, 4 such regimes have been the target of open revolt or mass demonstrations, those in Cuba, Chile, Haiti and Colombia.

In Cuba, guerrilla warfare is being waged against the regime of bloody dictator Fulgencio Batista. The forces fighting Batista are, according to all U.S. reports, at least passively supported by the Cuban people. The revolt is being led, at this point by university students, chafing under the lack of opportunity presented to them by Cuba's one-crop economy (U.S.-controlled sugar) and Batista's corrupt and reactionary rule.

In Chile, where U.S. controlled copper mining provides 70% of the national budget, a rise in bus fares set off mass demonstrations April 2 and 3. The demonstrations, which began in the working-class districts of Santiago and quickly involved the students, were halted only after police and Army gunfire resulted in 40 deaths and the bus fares had been lowered back down. The fare increases were only the last straw in a runaway inflation in which wage increases are prohibited by law to exceed 50% of the cost of living rise.

In Haiti, Dictator-President Paul Magloire was forced out of office last December by a general strike. The provisional

government which is now in shaky control is attempting to maintain domination of the ruling elite, for the most part agents for U.S. firms, by rigging the presidential elections set for June 16. Strikes and demonstrations, however, are spreading widely in opposition to the provisional government's ban on public discussion and assembly in the pre-election period.

In Colombia, the bloody dictatorship of General Rojas Pinilla was ended this month by nation-wide demonstrations, a general strike, and pitched battles in the industrial center of Cali. The military junta which replaced Rojas includes his supporters and has the support of the country's capitalist politicians, the Catholic Church, and the U.S. State Dept. In Cali, however, the workers are already proceeding, without permission from the junta, to round-up and execute members of the "Blue Birds," semi-fascist gangsters who were protected in their anti-labor terrorism under the Rojas regime and the Conservative government which preceded it.

As in Haiti, the working class, whose action was the decisive blow against the dictator, cannot be expected to endure its old misery in silence. The workers will continue as a powerful force struggling for the country's economic independence and social advancement. Bowing before the inevitable, the U.S. capitalist press has made a big show of hailing the ouster of Magloire and Rojas. Nevertheless, these events indicate trouble ahead for imperialist domination of Latin America upon which the structure of U.S. capitalist profits is, in significant part, dependent.

A Report on Events in Chile

By Jose Valdez

SANTIAGO, Chile — We can consider the April events a brilliant page in the history of the Chilean working class. These were vibrant protest demonstrations manifesting a highly militant reaction of the workers who, with the increase in bus fares, saw their cup of misery flow over.

The movement initiated by the students acquired a definite class character when it was surpassed by the movement of the working class on April 2. It was then no longer a case of going after small fry but of demonstrating against those truly responsible for hunger.

MILITANCY SHOWN

The demonstrations were carried on against the highest institutions of the capitalist class (the breaking of the Congress' windows and of the Court tribunals); stoning of the clubs where the most hated of the oligarchy met (the September Club and the Union Club) and against the newspaper of Big Business and of foreign imperialism, the famous "Mercurio." (A few feet away, the Metro movie house was showing the picture, "High Society" starring Princess Grace Kelly.)

A clear manifestation of the fighting capacity of the masses was the fact that in the face of continuous police gunfire, the workers would not quit but would fall back in order to regroup a few minutes afterwards. They also carried out assaults on several small arsenals. The movement, concentrated in the center of the city, extended to the workers' centers from which a few protest parades were launched.

Nevertheless, and this must be made clear because of the stories carried in foreign newspapers — the movement at no time assumed the character of a struggle for state power.

At no time was the government that serves the interests of Chilean Big Business and of imperialism in danger. The workers created no special organs of power of their own in the course of the struggles.

LEADERSHIP LACKING

The fact that no organized general strike took place, that the workers in the factories did not hold meetings and that there were no great meetings organized in the neighborhoods ready to march on the center demonstrates that all the forces of the working class were not mobilized for the protest movement. In-

deed, only a small part of the working class participated in the struggle.

The April struggle had no leadership. The movement was an improvised protest demonstration. The FRAP (alliance of the Communist, Socialist Party and others) hid its head ostrich-fashion, and denied any participation in the movement. Its president, Allende, declared in a communication that "No one is to go out on the streets." The Communist Party ordered its militants to stay home. In the Senate debates, Allende and Quinteros T. declared themselves against what they called "the riot of April 2, promoter of chaos."

We can say that the April events had enormous significance for the future development of the working-class struggle in Chile. The process of retreat which began with the defeat of the Jan. 9, 1956 general strike, has been arrested. A period of resurgence of the mass movement is beginning. But we can not say that the working class has already taken the offensive nor that it has reached the level of struggle it attained in 1955.

The April events have given the workers more confidence in their strength. There is no feeling among the workers of being defeated. On the contrary, they feel that through their militancy they have made the government repeat the rise in fares. The struggles have also shown the working class, and especially its vanguard, the necessity of creating a fighting leadership since the FRAP has once again capitulated and the CUT (the Central Union of Workers) once again proved impotent. There were many cases where workers who fought in the streets were heard to say "We have no leadership. What are the FRAP and CUT doing?" A phrase that is now on every one's lip is "We must prepare for the next time."

BASIC PROBLEMS

The position in which the workers' movement finds itself today is highly contradictory. On one hand, there exists a strong desire for struggle on the part of the working class, a wish to unitedly confront the capitalist class in the open and a profound hatred for the government. On the other hand, the union movement is more leaderless and atomized than ever. Today there exists no centralized leadership at the industry-wide level or on a national scale. The majority of the leaders have been exiled or jailed. The vanguard elements

among the workers must understand that without centralized organization it will be very difficult to take the offensive.

What is now of primary importance is to reorganize the workers' movement. The Revolutionary Workers Party (RWP) calls for the formation of reorganizing committees by trades or by industries and of inter-industry committees of all the unions, whether they belong to the CUT or not. This process should culminate in trade-wide and industry-wide congresses and in a general congress of all workers which should form a powerful workers' center. At the same time, the Chilean Trotskyists fight to establish a left-wing in the trade unions which would champion unity among the most

class-conscious workers in order to struggle against the reformists and bureaucrats in the labor movement.

KEY DEMANDS

Union reorganization and unity will not come about automatically but will result from united struggles for objectives of concern to all workers. Thus in textiles, metallurgy, mines and in construction, the workers should try to win the principle of the single contract. On a general scale, the workers should go after the escalator clause in the minimum wage and a sliding scale in family grants equal to the earnings of the employed. Under the escalator clause, the minimum wage should be readjustable every three months.

The working-class struggle will also be advanced considerably through running a candidate for the presidency of the Chilean Republic in 1958 who comes from the ranks of the workers' movement and is chosen by a national convention of trade unions of workers and of farmers.

Great are the tasks to be accomplished. If a struggle for the reorganization of the workers' movement is not undertaken, the government and the employers will sweep the union and political organizations of the working class away for years. If reorganization is achieved, the workers can begin the counter-offensive of their class. The present mood of the workers gives promise of this.

Reuther and Dave Beck

By Myra Tanner Weiss

The extent to which the government can intervene into the affairs of the labor movement, prevent strikes, arbitrate differences, suppress union democracy and force splits is underscored by the current Senate hearings into labor racketeering and the process it has set in motion.

This power of the Big-Business dominated government is a direct consequence of the fact that the entire labor bureaucracy, corrupt or "honest," subordinates the union movement to the capitalist class on the political field. Company-unionism in politics gives Big Business its greatest power over the labor movement. The responsibility for labor's weakness in politics belongs as much to Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, as it does to Dave Beck, head of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The Senate hearings are designed to create an atmosphere in which anti-labor legislation can be passed. This is frankly stated by Senate Subcommittee members. The exposure of corruption is only the means, not the object of the "investigations."

Newark Meeting Hears Five Views On Socialist Road

Over 150 persons packed Tunis Hall in Newark, May 10, to hear five speakers present their views on "American Socialism and the Future."

Dave Dellinger, an editor of Liberation magazine and first speaker at the meeting urged adoption of what he called Communism, Socialism, namely the building of producers' cooperatives by socialists. "Socialism has no future until it has a present," said Dellinger. "We must begin living socialism today."

Martha Stone, New Jersey chairman of the Communist Party, saw socialism coming to America as the outcome of peaceful and constitutional changes brought about by a "people's anti-monopoly coalition" whose first concern would be to curb the monopolists. One way to establish such a "coalition" is to "transform" the Democratic Party when it kicks out the Dixiecrats.

Harry Braverman, an editor of American Socialist, addressed himself to what he called the "root of the left" in America today. The world has changed, he stated, therefore our ideology must change. The socialist-minded must seek to influence the labor movement with their thoughtful propaganda. There should be no thin agitating, he said.

Daniel Roberts, editor of The Militant, forecast as the next stage of development in the U.S. the emergence of a left-wing in the unions. "What shall we offer the thousands of workers who will make up such a left wing? The State-Department socialism of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation? The newly radicalized workers will want no part of that. They will be breaking with the cold-war propaganda and the witch-hunt. We should offer them a class-struggle program and a party of revolutionary socialism." Roberts urged systematic discussion throughout the radical movement to arrive at a program for the regroupment of revolutionary socialists in America.

Max Shachtman, national chairman of the Independent Socialist League proposed the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation as the arena for the unity of all socialists. There should be only one programmatic condition for socialist unity, he said, namely that the united movement must not hold that there is anything progressive in the Soviet Union or anything there worthy of defense.

The chairman of the meeting was Dr. Hans Freistadt of Newark.

Yet discussion over "probes" so fraught with danger for the whole labor movement tends to center, not on how to combat anti-labor legislation, but on a trick issue posed by Sen. McClellan — "bad officials" versus "good officials."

When several weeks ago, the late Sen. McCarthy (R-Wisc.) jumped into the publicity limelight and accused the United Auto Workers and its president, Walter Reuther, of corruption, McClellan was quick to disassociate himself from his overhasty colleague. The one-at-a-time strategy is preferred by Big Business in its scandal campaign. McCarthy's intervention, however, was not entirely negative from McClellan's point of view. It enabled McClellan to pose as the defender of the "honest" officials against the crooked ones, and thus keep the diversionary debate going in the labor movement over which of the current labor officials were "good" and which bad.

It is true that the differences between Reuther and Beck are important. But from the point of view of the needs of the labor movement for a leadership capable of defeating the employing class, it is the identity between Reuther and Beck that is decisive.

The differences are obvious to all. If Beck had to live on Reuther's not-so-modest \$22,000-year salary, plus expenses, he would feel like a pauper. (Beck would feel restricted even on his own nominal salary of \$50,000 a year.)

THE BUSINESSMAN

Another difference is in the background of Beck and Reuther. Beck yearned to be a businessman from the very beginning. He manipulated the section of the labor movement over which he gained control to gain entrance into the business community. He straddles the two classes as employer and labor official. Furthermore, he always looked upon the union as a "business."

Reuther started as a socialist with an eye to the historic role of the working class. But as he rose to the top of the UAW and came under the pressure of the employers and the Big Business dominated government, he shed his socialist ideas. His personal ambition to be recognized as a "statesman" in American capitalist society replaced earlier ideas of fighting the capitalist system. He, like Beck, came to utilize his union post to satisfy that ambition.

Another difference between Beck and Reuther lies in the nature of the industry and the nature of the union in which each operates. Beck functions in an industry that lacks concentration. Contracts are signed with several thousand employers. The opportunities for deals and other shenanigans are close at hand as are the opportunities of playing off one group of drivers against another. Because of this, rank-and-file control is rendered far more difficult as the locals tend to be isolated one from the other.

SKILLED OPERATOR

Reuther's job of dominating the UAW requires far more skill. He has to manipulate the most powerful, concentrated and militant union in the country. The UAW enjoys a long tradition of internal democracy. To construct a bureaucratic machine and maintain its control over the membership is no easy task. Reuther could never have succeeded in the UAW by functioning the way Beck has.

But what Reuther and Beck have in common is more important than the distinctions between them. Enumerating the differences already reveals their common features. Both men bureaucratically dominate their unions, with only a difference in degree.

Both stand at the head of a machine of permanent office-holders who constitute a privileged bureaucratic clique. Both pursue policies of class-collaboration — in politics and in economic affairs.

Beck expressed his contempt for class-struggle policies when he denounced the old IWW, the first industrial union in America. "These Wobblies are nuts," he said. "You can't beat the bosses by trying to destroy them. I have no use for class warfare."

Reuther also rejects class-

'You Are Cute, Brother Reuther'

A delegate from Tarrytown, N. Y. to the UAW convention last April found himself in an argument with Walter Reuther over the question of the dues increase. After explaining his ideas about what the union leadership should be doing, the delegate concluded: "I would like to urge this Convention to support a roll call vote on this immediate resolution, because I feel myself that this Convention seems like a steamroller Convention. Thank you, Brother Reuther, it was a pleasure speaking to you. It took four hours; believe me, you are cute; you are smart. This is the first time I ever came to a Convention, and I have a lot to tell the people when I go back home. Thank you."

struggle concepts such as the IWW emblazoned in the preamble to its constitution. ("The working class and the employing class have nothing in common," said the preamble.) Reuther does not speak in such contemptuous terms as Beck, but he, too, claims that management and the workers have common interests. At the 1954 convention of the CIO, Reuther argued against the idea of building an independent labor party. He claimed that, "unlike Europe with its rigid class groups, America is a place where social groups are in flux, without a rigid class structure."

Beck has become notorious for deals he works out with the employers at the expense of the workers. But the recent convention of the UAW heard bitter complaints about some of the agreements engineered by Reuther's machine. Delegates scored agreements, entered into by top UAW officers, that sacrificed wages and conditions at Studebaker, Auto-Lite and Packard in order to preserve the "competitive position" of these firms.

Again, according to a vice-president of the Chrysler Corporation, the UAW officers had agreed last summer to allow the company to speed-up the Chrysler workers in order to bring the rate of production up to that prevailing at GM and Ford.

Corruption grows inevitably out of the process of collaboration between employer and union official. The collaboration, in turn, is made possible by bureaucratic suppression of union democracy—whether done crudely or with the aid of artful demagoguery. The elimination of corruption—is not a separate task but is part of a struggle against the entire labor bureaucracy and its class-collaborationist outlook.

Under the spur of the anti-labor offensive and of worsening working conditions, the union ranks will begin organizing against the bureaucracy. They will build left-wings, which will triumph over the union bureaucrats to the extent that they are organized on a class-struggle program including advocacy of building a labor party. Only as a result of that kind of struggle will the unions acquire leadership that can beat back the Big Business offensive and one that is honest and democratic as well.

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A Socialist and a Democratic Congressman Debate Civil Rights

Is it any wonder that the world looks with suspicion on the U.S. when our Negro population is and has been subjected to the loss of its liberty, to discrimination, to violence?

School segregation still continues rampant throughout most of the South where it is backed up by Democratic-Party state laws and administered by poll-tax Democrats. It continues in a somewhat more hidden form in the North.

The hypocrisy of the Northern liberal Democrats and their pretensions to support of civil rights was thoroughly exposed during the 1956 elections when neither party made a forthright call for enforcement of the Supreme Court school decision.

School segregation continues in the Northern industrial cities, including Chicago — cities that are run by the Democratic party. And the form of this segregation is in some ways even more hidden, insidious and dishonest than the rotten Southern variety.

Here in Chicago school segregation is accomplished mainly through residential segregation: Negroes are terrorized into staying in restricted areas. . . Here are the slum tenements, and overcrowded firetraps where fantastically high rents and high profits go into the pockets of gouging, white absentee landlords. If under this inhuman pressure, Negroes try to escape the ghetto they are met with bombs, beatings, shootings, destruction of their property and jeopardy of their lives.

The proof is there for any one who wants to see. The Trumbull Park terror has continued for years now. As late as last Palm Sunday, Rev. Fison's church held at the Trumbull Park Fieldhouse, was bombed and the Reverend threatened with eviction for conducting integrated services.

There must be a compelling reason why the U.S. government, one of the strongest state powers in the world, does not protect its people from violence, why it does not enforce its own Constitution.

There is a compelling reason why such laws are not enforced (even though not a good one). . . The basic reason is that the capitalist class in this country needs the double exploitation of the Negro people to maintain the profits of their system. To grant equality to the Negro population would jeopardize the position of special privilege now held by the small percentage of the population that controls most of the population of the earth. This explains why both major parties

We publish herewith excerpts from the presentation made by Howard Mayhew, Chicago organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, as he debated Congressman Sidney Yates, a Chicago Democrat, on the issue of civil rights. The debate was held before an audience of teenagers, May 10, at Francis Parker School in that city. The great majority of the 300 youth present were white but they greeted with warm, spontaneous applause Mayhew's slashing attack on the Jim Crow system and the joint responsibility of the Republican and Democratic parties in maintaining it.

A liberal Democrat, Congressman Yates apparently felt so pressed by the response to Mayhew's presentation that in the question period he called for the use of all means to enforce the Supreme Court school desegregation decision, including the use of Federal troops if necessary. Sympathetic laughter from the students greeted Mayhew's suggestion that if Congressman Yates really meant business about this he would get up and speak for it in the halls of Congress.

Yates left immediately afterward while Mayhew remained until the auditorium was closed with a large group of students who wanted to continue with their questions and discussion. — Ed.

have demonstrated repeatedly that they have no intention to help achieve Negro equality.

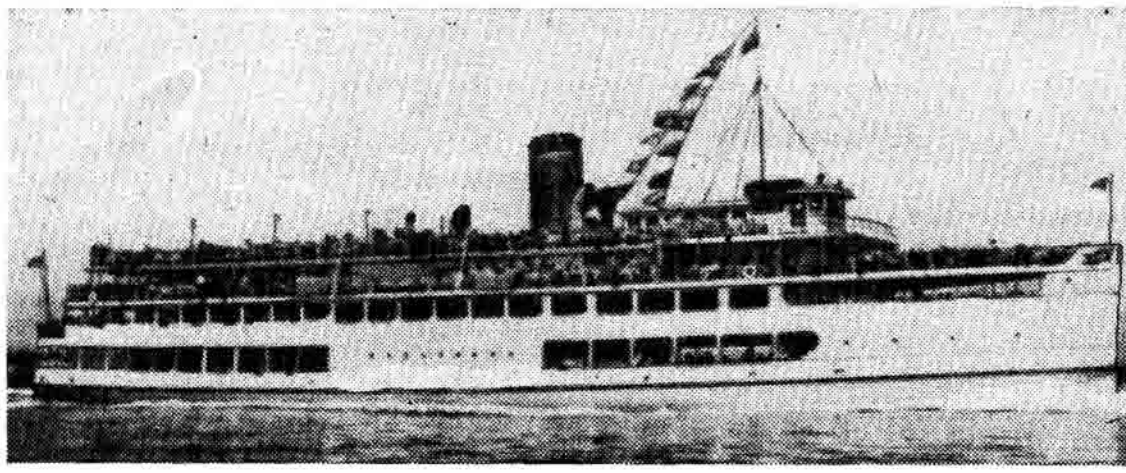
Whatever the Negroes have gained have come from their own mass struggle and from their alliance with the labor movement — against both the Republican and Democratic parties and the capitalist class they both represent.

Next Friday thousands will go from all parts of the country by car and train to Washington, D. C. They will meet in a huge mass demonstration before the Lincoln Memorial. The purpose is to arouse American public opinion against the failure to enforce the law — and to aid the Negro people in their heroic defense against the racist violence now being directed against them.

This event will take place in a few days. Yet you will notice the conspiracy of silence about it in the press. Only the Negro and labor press helps to organize the project. The capitalist-controlled press will not lift a finger to make that great, democratic demonstration a success.

By this conspiracy and sullen opposition they expose their complicity in the crime of segregation. On the other hand, the masses of Negro and white workers who will assemble next Friday — by their inspiring solidarity and self-sacrifice in the best tradition of struggle for equality and democracy — are providing an example of the method by which the final victory against racial prejudice will be won.

... Sobell Denied New Hearing



This modern steamer has been chartered to carry 3,000 passengers up the Hudson River to Bear Mountain on Sunday, May 26. Proceeds will be used to help win justice for Morton Sobell. Have you purchased your tickets?



MORTON SOBELL

(Continued from page 1)

the Appeals Court is not unexpected. The whole fabric of the witch hunt falls apart with an objective examination of the Sobell case. The role of the FBI as an extra-legal political police stands exposed. These are the reasons for the pressure to keep the Sobell case closed and the prison doors locked.

This same panel of judges one week earlier gave a decision involving illegal wire-tapping. Judge Medina also wrote that opinion. He contended that the federal government is not responsible if lower authorities do a little illegal snooping. Evidence obtained can stand in a

federal court which need not concern itself with how the evidence is obtained. With such "logic" the federal courts would sanction the most vile police practices and encourage the violation of law.

Support for Sobell will be demonstrated with the coming boat ride up the Hudson, May 26, under the auspices of the Sobell Committee. On this day 3,000 New Yorkers will give their answer to the three Appeals judges. With greater determination than ever before we will again demand freedom for Morton Sobell.

'Science and Socialism' Discussed By M. H. Baker at Twin Cities Forum

By Tom Leonard

MINNEAPOLIS — A recent meeting of the Twin Cities Labor Forum, a non-partisan group, heard M. H. Baker speak on the topic "Science, Socialism, and America."

Baker, who is co-chairman of the Minn. Committee for Independent Political Action, made it clear at the start of his talk that he would avoid dealing with immediate political questions.

Going back to 1937, he traced the tremendous advances made in medicine, agriculture, application of energy, etc. He gave graphic examples of how solar energy was being utilized to produce electricity far below the cost of methods now being used; how experiments were proving that the sea was a practically unlimited source of minerals and of food which would eliminate the danger of famine on a world wide scale. Science, said Baker, "has jumped from an adjunct of production to a production force."

Implicit in Baker's remarks was the fact that science was in a position to rid mankind of privation and to open up new avenues of social progress. "We see

the material possibilities" he said, "and the historical evidence. It has to happen! There is no alternative except for it to happen!"

He then presented a theory which he said "always excites people": "The USA, more than any other country has achieved 'socialization' of industry — of methods of work."

"American workers and American businessmen know 'socialization' — and they practice it!" He later made it clear that the relationship between the worker and the businessmen was far from harmonious.

Baker did not go into why American capitalism is so hostile to the concept of linking up the productive apparatus it controls to the scientifically proven facts he had outlined. However he did make an interesting analogy. Placing American society with its tremendous scientific and production potential on one side of a "street," he pointed out that "On the other side of the street — besides abundance — we have peace! The question is to cross the street."

... A-Tests

(Continued from page 1)

the 1951 tests, in which officials claimed a minimum of fallout in the test region, radioactive snow was recorded in far-off Rochester, N. Y.

Little wonder that at the beginning of this year, Warren Weaver, chairman of the National Academy of Sciences Committee on Genetic Effects of Atomic Radiation told a Senate Subcommittee: "I do not think it is fair to the people of the United States or the people of the world to give them the impression that there is no danger involved in this, for there is."

Those in Nevada who have spoken out against this murderous business have been given the usual government treatment. The Reporter tells the story of Robert A. Crandall, editor of the weekly Times-Bonanza, published in Tonopah, Nevada, near where "Butch" Bardioli died. His paper has courageously attacked the criminally callous conduct of the AEC. Editor Crandall reports numerous pressure visits from AEC officials. Sometimes, he says, "They say something like this, 'Well, of course, the Communists would like us to stop the tests, too.'"

N. Y. Cops Set New 'Get Tough' Policy for Youth

By Joyce Cowley

The New York Police Department has once again taken steps to combat what Commissioner Kennedy calls "the growing lawlessness of youth in our city." A new Youth Commission has been set up which will include the present staff of the Juvenile Aid Bureau, 78 youth patrolmen now working out of precincts, 81 members of the detective youth squads and 60 new patrolmen.

In New York City last year arrests of children under 16 rose 32% and in the 16 to 20 age group, 12%. These figures are typical of large cities throughout the country, and there has been a similar rise in juvenile crime each year for the last eight years.

J. Edgar Hoover, who has still to catch his first racist killer, recently called teenage crime the "crux of our crime problem." He advocated publicizing the names of "young thugs" and said that the problem is "no longer one of bad children but of young criminals. Recent happenings in juvenile crime shatter the illusion that soft-hearted mollycoddling is the answer. . . . 'Are we to stand idly by,' he asks, 'while fierce young hoodlums — too often and too long harbored under the glossy misnomer of juvenile delinquents — roam our streets and desecrate our communities? . . . Gang-style ferocity — once the evil domain of hardened adult criminals — now centers chiefly in cliques of teen-age brigands.'"

MORE COPS?

Mr. Hoover would certainly approve of New York City's program for more cops and more jails. This means more city jobs under the control of the Police Commissioner, which is a definite political advantage for him, but it's doubtful that it will help to solve the "problems of misguided youth," as Commissioner Kennedy claims.

The rise in the number of arrests and the increasing severity of sentences has so far done nothing to check the rise of juvenile crime. A New Jersey juvenile court judge, replying to J. Edgar Hoover's statement, said that "Mr. Hoover would have been better advised to urge provision of 50,000 needed probation officers, decent facilities for detention and correction and psychiatric aid. . . . A survey will disclose that most of the juvenile courts in the United States have not been provided with sufficient or proper tools to carry out the objectives sought."

But probation officers and courts are also adopting a "get tough" policy and they deal with young people who have already committed crimes. They



JOYCE COWLEY, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor of New York.

do nothing to prevent crime or to change the conditions in which it breeds. It is the parents who have not been provided with "sufficient and proper tools" to assure the health, happiness and normal development of their children.

Overcrowded classrooms, dilapidated school buildings, inadequate playgrounds, slum housing and Jim Crow all contribute to creating the cases which are then sent to juvenile courts that are also over-crowded and to jails where children again "double up" — frequently in the company of adult criminals.

Yet programs to fight juvenile crime consistently call for additional policemen — not additional parks and schools. Instead of doing something concrete to fill an obvious need, authorities insist that the problem is very complex and no one really knows what to do about delinquent behavior.

While it's true that many complex factors may be involved, it is also generally agreed that good schools and housing, guidance facilities, child-care centers, playgrounds and recreational programs are beneficial to children. While it would mean fewer policemen and consequently not so many political handouts for the Police Commissioner, we might start combatting juvenile crime by giving our children the things we know they need for healthy and happy growth.

Reuben Book on Hiss Rips Witch Hunt

THE HONORABLE MR. NIXON AND THE ALGER HISS CASE. By William A. Reuben. 142 pages. New York: Action Books. 1956. \$1.

Alger Hiss was the innocent victim of a chain of circumstances that not only led to the charge of "twenty years of treason" hurled by Sen. McCarthy against the Democratic Party, but also sparked the remarkable rise in the political fortunes of Richard M. Nixon.

Such is the verdict of William A. Reuben, an author who has exposed a number of prominent witch-hunt cases (including the Rosenberg case) as frame-ups. His book on Nixon and Hiss is now in its third printing. It will prove to be a companion handbook to Alger Hiss' own recently published book on his case.

CHAMBERS' FIRST STORY

The events dealt with in Reuben's book began in August 1948 when Whittaker Chambers testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee. (Nixon was then a member of that committee.) In his testimony, Chambers named himself and a number of former government officials as having been members of an "apparatus" the function of which was "Communist infiltration of the American government." One of those named was Alger Hiss, a top man in the State Department. It is interesting in view of his later charges of espionage against Hiss, that in this first appearance, Chambers emphasized that the objectives of the apparatus were "power and influence," and "that these people were specifically not wanted to act as sources of information."

Alger Hiss denied all charges in a telegram to the Committee

and demanded a hearing to enable him to defend himself under oath. When he made his appearance he again denied all charges and further stated that he knew no one by the name Whittaker Chambers and "as far as I know, I have never laid eyes on him and I should like to have the opportunity to do so." He could not identify Chambers by a photograph but refused to swear he had never seen him.

Hiss' wish to see his accuser was not granted until the newspaper headlines of the country were filled for two weeks with Nixon's carefully planned publicity built around the question of whether Hiss was guilty of perjury for denying knowing Chambers.

When Hiss was finally permitted to confront Chambers in a closed door session, he readily identified him as a free lance writer he had once known by the name of George Crosley. His previous failure to identify photographs of Chambers was understandable since in the years since Hiss knew him, Chambers had shaved his moustache and gained fifty pounds. But this was presented to the public as if Hiss had at first denied knowing Chambers and was later forced to admit that he did know him.

Further, the Committee reports implied far more serious charges than perjury, namely, that "treason and espionage" were involved. The New York Times reported Nixon as having "asserted that the Truman administration had prevented J. Edgar Hoover — from testifying before Congress on espionage matters." Chambers in his testimony, however,

had not as yet accused anyone of espionage! Nixon was running ahead of his star witness.

As late as October 1948, in testifying under oath before a grand jury, Chambers denied knowing anyone guilty of espionage. Then suddenly, on December 2, on his farm in Maryland, Chambers scooped several rolls of microfilm out of a pumpkin and Nixon raced back to Washington from a Caribbean cruise via plane and "speeding crash boat" to take charge of new investigations and in his own words, prevent a "Justice Department cover up."

Contradictions in the new evidence immediately appeared. The State Department documents, photographs of which appeared on the microfilm, were all dated in 1938. Chambers had by all previous testimony, broken with the Communist Party in 1937. (Hiss' attorneys were later able to provide proof that the time was 1937.) Direct evidence linking Hiss with the films was not produced. For two weeks following their discovery, Nixon and the committee refused to allow anyone outside the committee, including the Justice Department, to see the "evidence" or reveal its actual contents.

While every day brought new press releases and charges from the committee, it required a Federal court order to force Nixon to give up the films. In an atmosphere of trial by newspaper, Hiss was indicted on December 15, and shortly afterward was tried and convicted of perjury for denying having passed government documents to Chambers or of having known him after 1937.

All of these events are carefully chronicled in the first half

of Mr. Reuben's book. In retrospect, the mere reporting of the facts shows the bias of the committee and its publicity hunting techniques that started Richard M. Nixon on a meteoric political rise which made him Vice-President of the United States.

The entire second half of Reuben's book consists of the defense motion for a new trial in Hiss' case. In this motion every shred of evidence against Hiss is substantially contradicted.

In preparing the motion, the defense attorney, Chester T. Lane, went to great lengths to establish the possibility of forgery by typewriter. This had previously been regarded as impossible. As indicated, there was no direct evidence linking Hiss to the films, but in addition to them, typewritten papers were presented at the trial purporting to be copies of government documents typed on the Hiss family typewriter for transfer to Chambers.

EXPERTS HELP OUT

Those papers constituted the most damning evidence against Hiss at the trial. Lane, who suspected all along that Hiss was a victim of forgery, after the trial sought out a typewriter engineer willing, without seeing the machine originally used, to attempt construction of a typewriter that would duplicate copies of the Hiss-case documents. Lane then had samples from both machines examined by document experts. The results were embodied in affidavits submitted by two such experts who testified that the typewriter engineer hired by Lane had been successful. Lane thus proved that forgery by typewriter was possible.

When Lane was finally per-

mitted to examine the typewriter itself, he turned it over to a firm of consulting chemists who later submitted an affidavit that the machine had definitely been tampered with by having type faces replaced and altered. This as well as other evidence led Lane to the conclusion that the typewriter used as evidence against Hiss could not have been the original Hiss-family machine, but was a forgery.

It is certainly to the credit of the defense counsel that he was so persistent in tracking down what had been presented as "evidence" in the prosecution of Alger Hiss. Though the motion for a new trial was denied without a hearing and though the denial was upheld, the action of the courts does not close the Hiss case as far as public opinion is concerned. The debate touched off in the nation's press in the last few days by the publication of Hiss' own book on the case bears testimony to that.

Reuben has done a commendable job of presenting the entire case, despite his apparent illusion that the book would affect the outcome of the 1956 elections. The book first appeared in September 1956 and was obviously designed as campaign material against Nixon.

It is more important that the book helps to expose the witch-hunt system, of which the Hiss case was a prominent part.

—David Dreiser

Black Reconstruction in America (1860-1880). By W. E. B. DuBois. Special price: \$5.50. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, New York.

A Day Together For Justice!

SOBELL BOAT RIDE TO BEAR MOUNTAIN Sunday, May 26

Board Boat at Battery Park or 134th St. Pier (instead of at 125th St. Pier as previously announced).

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Calendar of Events

Chicago
Militant Labor Forum, Friday, May 24, 8:15 P.M. "Eyewitness Report on the Pilgrimage to Washington." Speaker: Rev. Joseph P. King. 777 W. Adams.

Los Angeles
School of International Socialism presents two series of Saturday afternoon lectures. At 1 P.M., "The First American Revolution," by Wm. F. Warde. May 25 subject: "The Contest for Power Between the Patriarchians and Piebians: — 1783-1789." At 2 P.M., "The Russian Revolution of 1917," by Theodore Edwards. May 25 subject: "The Balance Sheet of the October Revolution: A Marxist Analysis of the Soviet Union." 1702 E. 4th St.

JUST OFF THE PRESS

The Santana Case
Tragedy of a Puerto Rican Youth
By Joyce Cowley
17 pages 10 cents

Order from: Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

New York
Militant Labor Forum, Sat. May 18, 8:30 P.M. "March on Washington — An Eyewitness Report." Speaker: Henry Gitano. Questions, Discussion. Followed by a social evening, 116 University Place. Contribution 50 cents.

Debate, Friday, May 24, 8 P.M.
"What Road to Socialist Regime?" Max Shachtman, Independent Socialist League, vs. Murry Weiss, Socialist Workers' Party, Chairman. Clifford T. McAvoy, Central Plaza Hall, 2nd Ave. and 7th St. Adm. \$1.00 students 50 cents, unemployed free.

American Youth for Socialism holds open meetings every Tuesday night at 8:00 P.M., at 116 University Place. A short business meeting is followed by an interesting educational discussion. May 21: "A Participant's Report on the March on Washington." Speaker: Jim Lane.

Marxist Labor School. A series of classes from 8 to 10 P.M. every Monday night until June 10 on "The History of American Socialism" led by Joyce Cowley, SWP candidate for Mayor of New York. To register phone ALgonquin 5-7852. 116 University Place.

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